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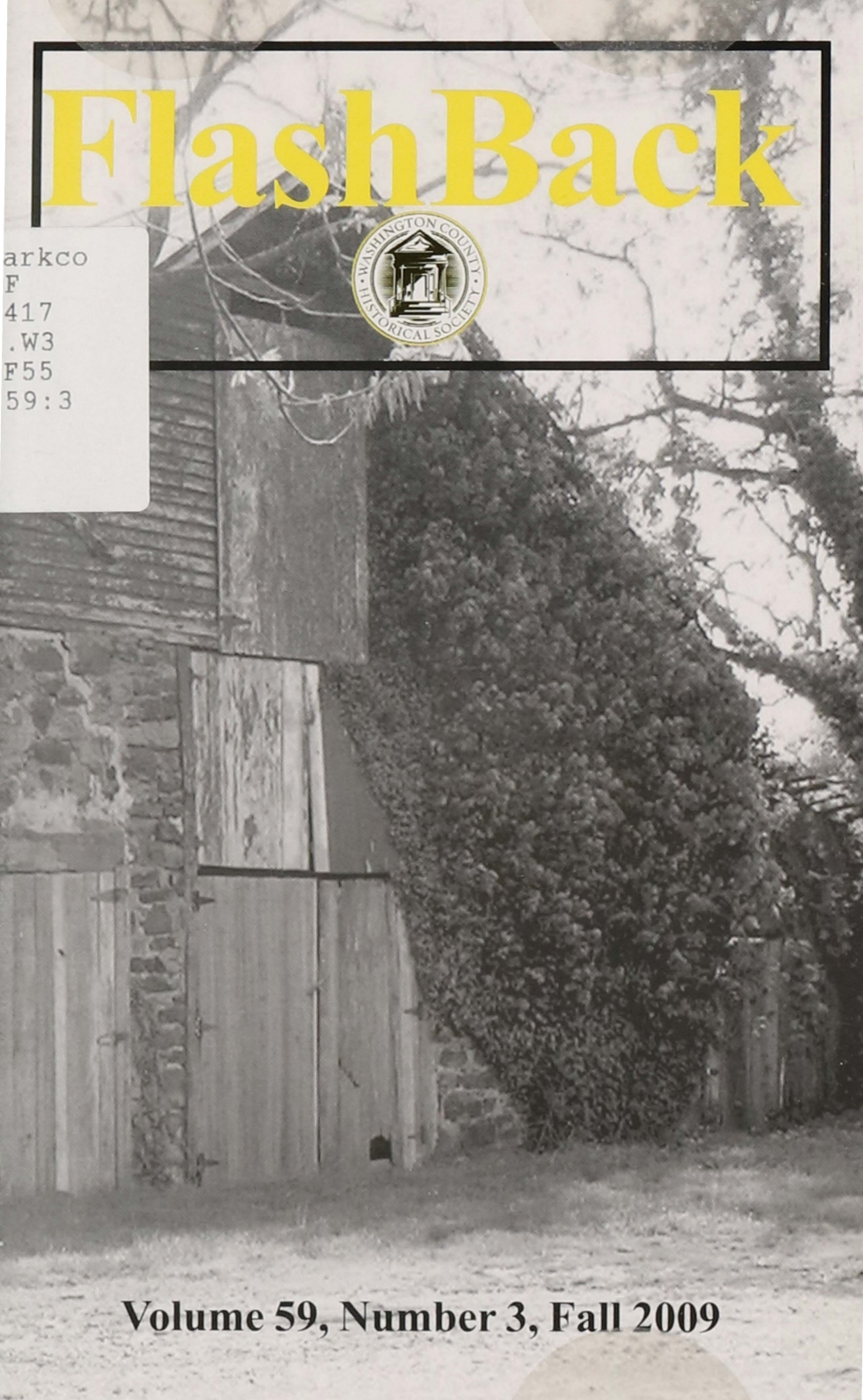

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FLASHBACK

**Journal of
the Washington County Historical Society**

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Cover: Stone barn at Fitzgerald Station, one of the few remaining structures used by the Butterfield Overland Mail, 1858-1861.

(Photograph courtesy of Kirby Sanders)

A Life Defined by Death: Clementine Watson Boles, 1839-1921

Abby Burnett*

This story begins with an ending – in a cemetery, with a tombstone. It's not a tombstone that commands attention, and the information carved on it is standard: "Born in the State of Virginia, June 18, 1839; Died at the City of Fayetteville, Ark., Oct. 14, 1921." Its epitaph, "A lady of refinement and culture," invites a second look, but does not give much away.

This simple, unembellished stone, found in the Boles family plot in Fayetteville's Evergreen Cemetery, tidily sums up the life of Clementine Watson Boles. A little research reveals that she was a wealthy, well-educated woman who owned large amounts of Fayetteville real estate. She was a joiner of patriotic organizations, and left several legacies to the city that had been her home since well before the Civil War.[1]

Still, nine years after her death, when Edmund Penn Watson died, his obituary mentioned that Clementine had been his sister. She was, the writer recalled, "one of Washington County's best known women, a leader in church and civic work."[2]

All of this might be enough, really. But spend a little time in the Boles plot examining the other stones – and their death dates – and something becomes clear: this woman outlived her large family. No amount of "refinement and culture" – or wealth and privilege – shielded her from the deaths of her husband, children and stepchildren.

This is where Clementine Boles' biography really begins: with her thorough acquaintance with death. Her life spanned the Civil War, the

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*The author was awarded first place in the 2009 W.J. Lemke Prize for this article. Her work most recently appeared in the fall 2008 *Flashback* for her article "'No Pompous Marble to Thy Name We Raise:' A.H. Morley and Family, Fayetteville Tombstone Carvers," which received first place in the 1st Annual Lemke Prize.

Clementine Watson Boles

(Photograph courtesy of Shiloh Museum for Ozark History/ Washington County Historical Society Collection (P-1180))

great Influenza epidemic and World War I, evidence enough that she witnessed death on a national scale. On a personal level, however, she shared the many, sad duties of women of her day: nursing the sick, sitting with the dying, and burying the dead – in her case, most often those who had died from consumption (now called tuberculosis), a leading cause of death in the 1800s.

A century ago women were also responsible for commemorating the dead. Boles helped found Fayetteville's Confederate Cemetery, she raised money for memorials to the Confederate dead in Arlington National Cemetery, ensured that family graves were marked and, finally, left lasting memorials to her three children, who died very young.

What Clementine Boles did in service to the dead of her family and the state is a sad story. More importantly, it is relevant because this thorough acquaintance with death was universal to women of her day. The epitaph on her tombstone may laud her character, but it does not hint at the events that overshadowed her life.

OVERVIEW OF A LIFE

Given the numerous Watson and Boles family members mentioned here, for purposes of clarity Clementine will be referred to by her first name.

Clementine was eight years old when her parents, William A. and Christiana Long (Crews) Watson, moved from Virginia to Van Buren, (Crawford County) Arkansas, in 1847, where William was a merchant. The Watsons purchased a house from a local doctor for their large family. Listed by birth order, from eldest to youngest, the Watson children were William Albert, Sarah Virginia, John Garth, Francis (Frank) Gardner, Clementine W., Joseph, Charles Robert and Thomas Crews. Edmund Penn was born the year after they arrived in Arkansas.[3]

Two of these children died in 1848: fourteen-year-old John and two-year-old Thomas, and were buried in the family's plot in Van Buren's Fairview Cemetery. In December of 1852 father William, and daughter Sarah (now married and living in St. Louis) died just two weeks apart.

The next year, 1853, Christiana and her children moved to Fayetteville, where brothers William and Frank, aided by Joseph, had a mercantile business – one of five in the city.[4] The 1860 census shows an extended family living under Christiana Watson's roof, including brother William's

Confederate Cemetery Entrance in Fayetteville, Arkansas

wife, Sarah, and their three children. (Brother Charles, somewhat inexplicably, now lived several houses away, boarding with a family that included a doctor and his wife. It's possible that Charles did this to study medicine, an accepted method for becoming a doctor in an era with few medical schools, though there is no evidence that he ever practiced medicine.)

The move to Fayetteville may have been prompted by family deaths, to improve their business opportunities, or to better educate the children. As early as 1848 Fayetteville had been called, "...the foremost town of Arkansas in the cause of education,"[5] due to the presence of Sophia Sawyer's Fayetteville Female Seminary, founded in 1839,[6] and Robert Graham's Fayetteville Male Academy, founded in 1850 (later incorporated as Arkansas College).[7] A biographical entry on Clementine, written shortly before her death, stated that she had been educated "in the chartered schools of the community,"[8] making it likely that she attended first Sawyer's school (though no list of pupils exists for these years) then one founded by Professor Van Horne in 1858. A list of students attending Van Horne's Fayetteville Female Institute, later renamed the Northwest Arkansas Baptist

Female Institute, includes both Clementine's name and that of her next door neighbor, Rebecca Stirman, who is known to have also attended Sawyer's school.[9] Both schools offered a musical education, something that was surely important to Clementine's mother, a skilled pianist.

When the Civil War started the Watsons took the Confederate side. This is understandable, as they owned a slave, a young man they'd brought with them to Fayetteville from Van Buren.[10]

The 1911 Membership Register of the Mildred Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy[11] lists Clementine's three brothers ("F., J., C. Watson") as having served in the 34th Arkansas Infantry (Brooks Regiment) in the Civil War. While Charles' service record cannot be verified, Frank and Joseph did serve in this regiment.

"It must have been with a feeling of trepidation that the widow Christiana Watson saw her 25-year-old son Frank go as Third Sergeant and 18-year-old son Joseph enlist as private," according to an account of Fayetteville during the Civil War.[12]

Frank Watson entered as a sergeant, but he exited with the rank of private, having deserted following the battle of Prairie Grove, Dec. 9, 1862. He wasn't alone in this – of the 152 men in his company who enlisted in Fayetteville on June 16th, 36 men deserted during or following this battle, if they weren't wounded, killed, AWOL or on sick leave before that.

"Many of these soldiers have the word 'deserted' after their names," cautions the creator of a web page that lists these Confederate military records. "These soldiers may have been separated from their units in the heat of battle, joined up with other units and continued to fight this war. They may have had families back home who were starving and no one to plant their crops or gardens. They may have gone home to visit awhile with loved ones and then return[ed], only to find that there were so many miles between them and their original unit that rejoining them was an impossibility...."[13]

The family of Thomas D. Boles – Clementine's future husband – lived in Missouri until the Civil War ended. In 1866 Thomas, wife Amanda and their four children moved from Missouri to Fayetteville, where Boles started both grocery and dry goods businesses. According to the 1870 census, the Watson and Boles families lived near one another. Thomas and Amanda now had five children and two servants under their roof, and Amanda had

Clementine Boles' Tombstone in Evergreen Cemetery
(Photograph courtesy of the author)

a millinery shop upstairs above her husband's grocery.[14] Clementine was living with her mother and brother Joseph, a store clerk; brother William and family had relocated to Cane Hill,[15] while Frank worked first as a steamboat clerk, then for the Iron Mountain Railroad.[16]

The two families were united in business from an early date, as first the Dunn credit ratings books, and later Bradstreet's listings, mention Boles and Watson as co-owners of a grocery business from 1871 to at least 1875. At the same time, brother William Watson was listed as having a general store in Boonsboro, or Cane Hill.

The early 1870s brought bigger changes to both families: Amanda Boles gave birth to the couple's sixth child, Benjamin, in 1871; Christiana Watson died in 1872, at age 62. In the summer of 1873 Amanda Boles died. Four years later – and one day after Clementine's 38th birthday – she and Thomas Boles married, theirs the first wedding performed in the present St. Paul's Episcopal church.[17] Clementine became stepmother to Thomas' six children: Clifford, Carrie, Minnie, Edmund, Mary and Ben. A year and a half later, in 1878, stepson Edmund died. His was the first of a

long succession of family deaths known to have been caused by consumption.

Only two of the six stepchildren, Clifford D. and Mary V. Boles, did not succumb to the disease. Clifford went on to inherit one of his father's two businesses, he married and had children, but little is known about Mary. In 1909, when making her will, Clementine did not mention Mary, but her obituary, published in the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, stated that she was survived by a stepdaughter, a Mrs. W.M. Weaver, of California.[18]

By the end of her life Clementine Boles was "a major financier" of Fayetteville real estate,[19] and had been plaintiff in a lawsuit that was heard by the state's Supreme Court, involving repayment of a loan.[20] (This case was somewhat complicated by the fact that Clementine's business manager had committed suicide after collecting, and keeping, money owed to her by a borrower.)

Clementine died at age 82, on October 14, 1921, from what her obituary termed a stroke of apoplexy. As per her request in her will, she was buried at the head of her children's graves in Evergreen Cemetery. Very likely her brother, Edmund Penn Watson, chose the epitaph for her tombstone ("A lady of refinement and culture"), as five years later when his wife, Grace, died her stone in Bentonville's city cemetery would contain a similar sentiment: "A lady of high Christian ideals."[21]

NURSING DUTIES

The rights of women, what are they?
The right to labor, love and pray...
The right to smooth the brow of care,
To whisper comfort to despair...

The right to watch the parting breath,
To soothe and watch the bed of death;
The right, when earthly hopes all fail,
To point to that within the veil...

These excerpted, unsigned, verses, published in the *Van Buren Argus* in 1866, reminded women of their duty to nurse the sick and dying. Clementine, who had been her mother's companion for many years, nursed

the sixty-two-year-old Christiana with great devotion throughout her long final illness and eventual death.

"Here we would pay a deserved tribute to her daughter, Miss Clem Watson," wrote her mother's obituary writer ("L") in 1872, when Clementine was 32. "A finer sense of filial duty, a more earnest display of self-denying devotion was never seen that for a year has been exhibited by this young lady. An angel of mercy, she hovered around her loved mother's sick bed, excluding herself utterly from the society which she is herself so well fitted to adorn."

Christiana Watson's obituary mentioned that she had been "reared in the lap of wealth and luxury and enjoyed all the advantages of education and refined society." This education included music, as biographical information later noted that she had been "the most famous pianist in Virginia" at one time.[22] Perhaps these musical abilities influenced her dying moments, because her obituary noted that, "Her last words to her weeping daughter were: 'Be right quiet. Who is singing?'"[23]

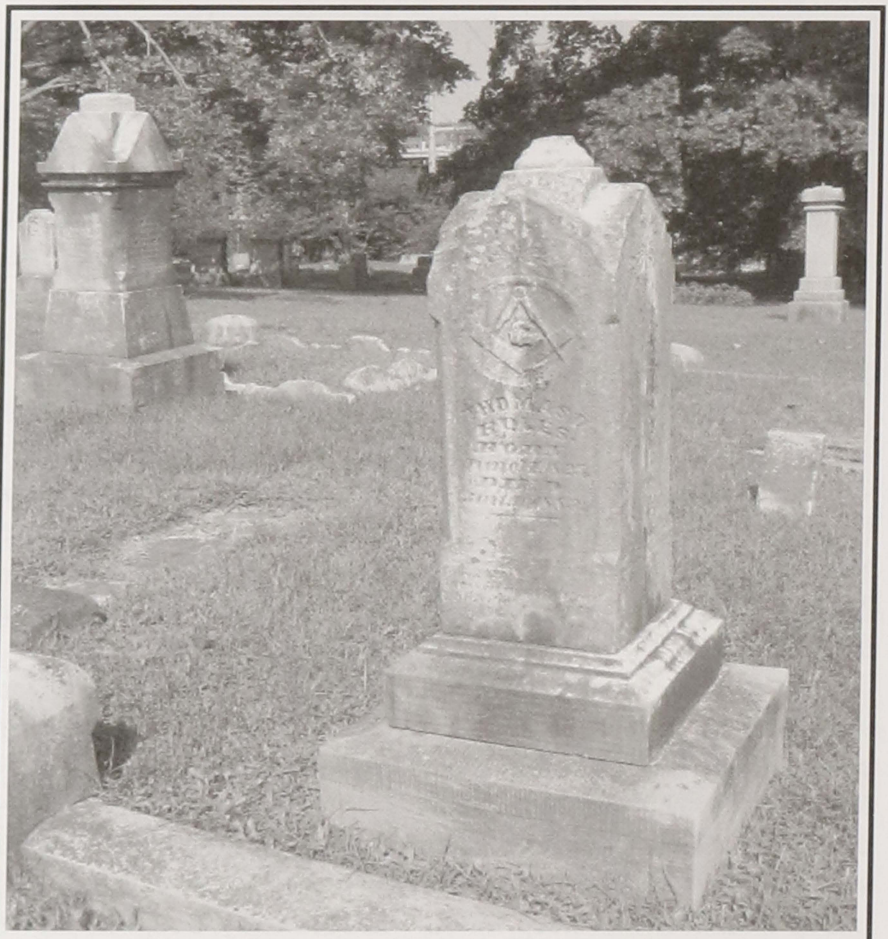
Within a few years Clementine would begin nursing a long list of family members through their declines, and deaths. Though this may have been expected of her, it is worth noting that when her brother, Frank G. Watson, was dying from tuberculosis he came to his sister's house to be cared for.

"As disease overtook him he went to the home of his sister and there, surrounded by loved ones and nursed with their tender care, he quietly passed away," according to his obituary.[24] Clementine would later record that her brother "gave his life in the cause of the Confederacy" so possibly he became infected with tuberculosis while in the military, the only one of her siblings known to have died from this disease.[25]

LOVING THEM TOO MUCH

The subject of nursing leads, inevitably, to that of dying. Frank Watson's death at his sister's house in March of 1885 was just one of many from the same cause.

Clementine and Thomas Boles had been married a year and a half, and Clementine was pregnant with the couple's first child, when stepson Edmund Thomas died in November of 1878, at age 14. No obituary has been found for him, but it is likely that he died of consumption, given the number of deaths in this household that would later be attributed to this disease. The following February Clementine and Thomas' first son, Watson,



Thomas Boles' Tombstone in Evergreen Cemetery
(Photograph courtesy of the author)

was born and, almost exactly one year later, died from malaria.[26] At that time Clementine was pregnant with her second child, Turner Davis ("Teddie").

Teddie, born in 1880, lived just eight months, dying in February of 1881. In November of 1881 stepdaughter Minnie T., age 19, died of consumption, which by now was surely affecting other family members, as well.

"You do not know what a world of trouble I have had to endure since I last wrote you," Clementine wrote to her Aunt Sallie (last name unknown), on January 1, 1882. She told her aunt that both of her children were dead, as well as stepdaughter Minnie. "She and her sister Carrie spent the

summers up on the lakes thinking it would benefit her. They came home the first of Oct. She lived just one month after they came home. It was a very sad death indeed to us all. Thus you see we have buried four children in three years."[27] There was more to come.

In May of 1882 Thomas made his will, leaving his mercantile business, and its contents, to Clementine and his four surviving children by his first marriage: Clifford, Carrie, Mary and Ben. (Clementine would become pregnant for the third time shortly after he wrote this will.) Thomas left two stores, one run in partnership with C.C. Conner, the other run by son Clifford, whom he appointed as his executor.

In January of 1883 Thomas Boles died of consumption, a disease he had suffered from for a number of years, according to his obituary.[28] Given that he was a long-time member of the Masons' Washington Lodge Number 1, and that this lodge, with the Independent Order of Oddfellows' Lodge Number 15 had organized Evergreen Cemetery in 1870, it is very likely that Boles had helped found the cemetery where he and his family were laid to rest.[29]

His lodge brothers oversaw his burial with full Masonic honors. One week later they published a tribute of respect in his honor, something commonly done for members. In it they offered condolences to Boles' family, praised his virtues and – in the fanciful language of the day – described his last days as, "combating a lingering disease that wasted his stalwart form, until at last the Pale Messenger touched him with his wand, and he sank to eternal sleep...." As was customary, Lodge members vowed to wear "the usual badge of mourning" (probably black armbands) for 30 days.[30]

Carrie Boles was appointed Mary's and Ben's legal guardian following their father's death, perhaps in order to probate his will. However, only four months later she, too, made a will and a week after that, on July 31, 1883, at age 24, she died. Her infant stepbrother, Charles William, had been born in March and the first bequest in her will was to leave one dollar to Charles. She divided the rest of her personal property between her sister Mary and brothers Clifford and Ben or their survivors and she, too, appointed Clifford as her executor. (Clifford then became guardian to Mary and Ben.) Carrie's funeral was preached by Rev. J.J. Vaulx, the Episcopal rector who had married her father and Clementine, and whose church she attended.[31]

Marker for three sons of Thomas and Clementine Boles in Fayetteville's Evergreen Cemetery

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

Frank Watson, dying in March of 1885, was next in the sequence. By this time Clementine's son Charles William was nearly three years old, and she must have thought that surely this child would survive. However, on January 20, 1886 he, too, died from what was very likely consumption. The next year Ben J. Boles, age 17, died.

Ben's brief obituary, which gives his cause of death as consumption, contains an intriguing bit of information: "This makes eight deaths that have occurred in that family within the past five years and they have all died with the same disease."[32] (Unless Watson's malarial death was also attributed to consumption, it is unclear whose was the eighth death from this cause.)

On September 19, 1889, Clementine wrote Sarah, another of her aunts (last name unknown). "I am all alone in the world now my precious Charlie Will was the last tie that bound me to earth. You never saw any one so lonely and desolate in all your life as I feel myself to be. I cannot tell why I am so severely dealt with by the Good Father. Perhaps I loved my husband and children too much was why they were all taken from me."[33]

The concept of "loving them too much" was not original to Clementine. Though collected long after Boles' time, two students taking Mary Celestia Parler's folklore class at the University of Arkansas, in 1950 and 1962, were told by older Arkansas residents, "If you think too much of a child it will die." (One of these informants was born in 1902.)[34] Additionally, this idea is expressed in an epitaph occasionally used on children's tombstones. The following excerpt (one of two examples found in Van Buren's Fairview Cemetery) comes from the stone of Willie Butler, (July 30, 1897 – July 7, 1907):

> We had a little treasure once,
> He was our joy and pride.
> We loved him, ah! perhaps too well
> For soon he slept and died.

"CURES" FOR CONSUMPTION

Tuberculosis – or consumption, scrofula, white plague or long sickness as it was variously called on the mortality schedules – was not curable well into the 1900s. Some sufferers did get better, though, and there were remedies and treatments believed to be effective; at the very least they gave patients hope.

The most popular remedy was a change of climate, and Arkansas obituaries of the day give evidence of this practice, as sufferers sought warmer, colder or drier air to ease their affected lungs. This notion was popularized by German doctor Hermann Brehmer, who founded a TB sanatorium in the Silesian mountains 1859, based on theories by an English doctor who had noticed a greater incidence of TB in cities, rather than rural environments.

The first American sanatorium was founded by Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau, in the Adirondacks, in 1884, following his own cure from TB near Saranac Lake in 1873. Soon more sanatoriums were built across the country,[35] but the Arkansas State Tuberculosis Sanatorium was not established until 1909[36] – too late to help Clementine's family.

Clementine's 1882 letter to her Aunt Sallie, telling how Minnie and Carrie were sent "up to the lakes" (possibly Missouri) for Minnie's health, is evidence that the Boles family was putting its faith in the fresh air cure. Obituaries published in Washington County well into the 1900s mention other such relocations: Colorado to Ft. Smith to Springdale, Texas and

Missouri to Arkansas, Arkansas to California. (Even short distances were believed to confer healing, as evidenced by the lady who went from Huntsville, in Madison County, to Harrison, in Boone County, Arkansas, for her health, in 1902, a distance of about 40 miles.)[37]

Sufferers also sought relief in patent medicines. With no apparent irony, newspapers often ran advertisements for these medicines alongside obituaries for those who had died of the disease the medicine promised to cure. (Thomas Boles' obituary and Masonic tribute ran next to prominent ads for Parker's Ginger Tonic, which made the lame promise, "If you are wasting away with Consumption... use the Tonic today. It will surely help you.") While these and modern nostrums are often dismissed as "snake oil," in 1916 there actually was a product called, unashamedly, Snake Oil, or Miller's Antiseptic Oil, used externally for pain or taken internally for coughs and colds.[38]

The following are just some of some of the products advertised in Fayetteville newspapers in the late 1800s. There was Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, which claimed to help every type of breathing disorder, and the aptly named Dr. Crook's Wine of Tar that promised, "a positive cure for Coughs, Colds & Consumption." Parson's Purgative Pills hedged after claiming to "change the blood in the entire system in three months" by promising to restore a patient "to sound health, if such a thing is possible." Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup was for "the cure of...Incipient Consumption and for the relief of consumptive persons in advanced states of the Disease," while Mansfield Hungarian Balsam for the Lungs warned that neglected coughs led to consumption.

Some advertisements contained testimonials. "I am one who was cured of consumption," trumpeted the ad for Dr. H. James' Cannabis Indica in 1873, which was "positively and permanently curing Consumption, Bronchitis, and Asthma." The same ad contained a testimonial from a Missouri doctor who claimed he'd cured his son's consumption using the product, after consulting "the most eminent physicians in the country."[39]

Another source of hope came from household compendiums containing medical advice. Though it is not known if the Boles household contained such an encyclopedia, examples have been found in Arkansas, and it is not unlikely that a well-off household would have owned such a volume.

An example in the author's collection is "The People's Common Sense Medical Adviser," by R.V. Pierce, M.D., published in 1918 by the World's Dispensary Medical Association.[40] At first glance the book appears to contain practical information on various diseases. A closer look, however, reveals that nearly every malady could be helped, if not cured, by one of the many products concocted and sold by Dr. Pierce. Helpfully, he also founded an Invalids' Hotel and Surgical Institute in Buffalo, New York, which stood ready and willing to accept patients.

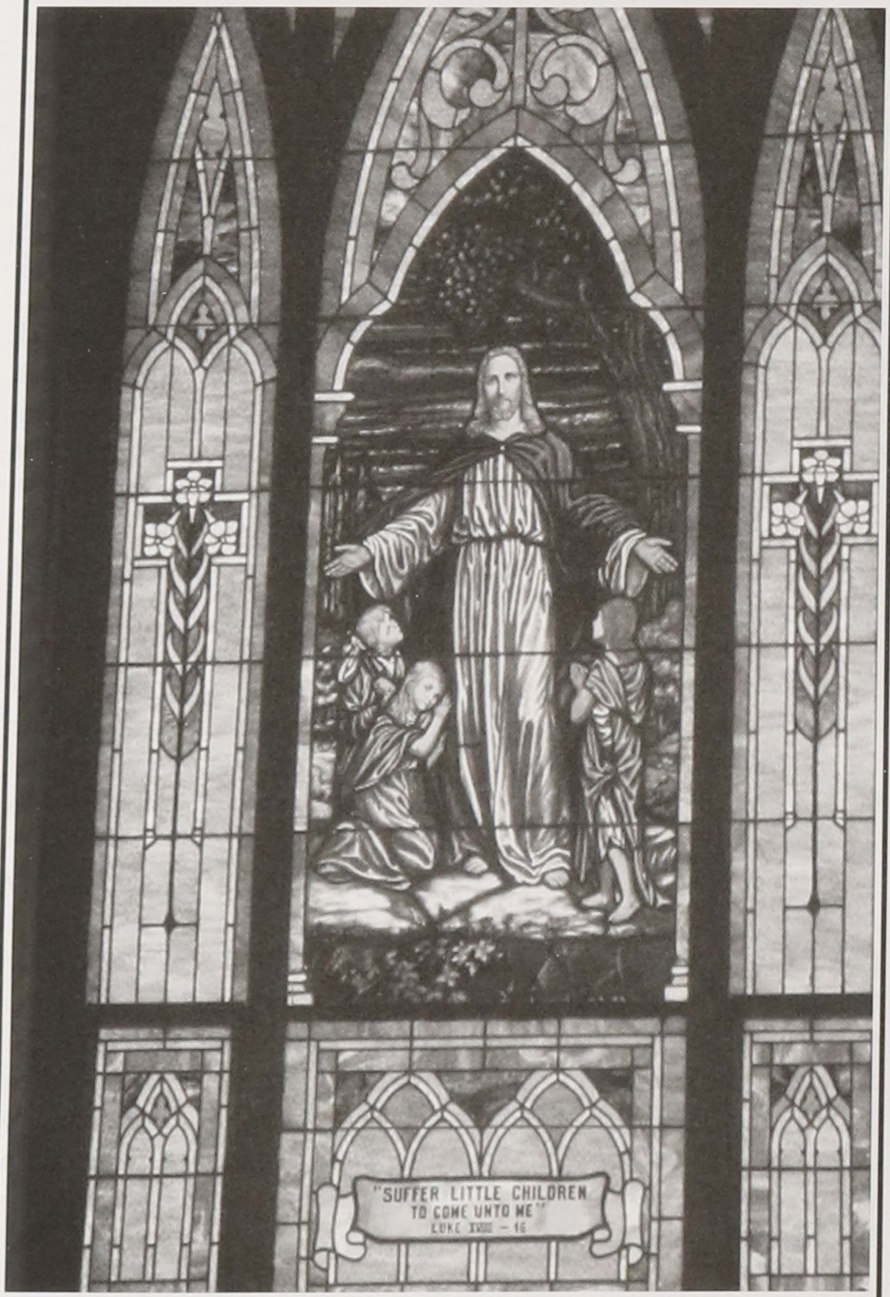
Despite Dr. Pierce's obvious self-interest he, too, recommended fresh air for tubercular patients. "Statistics have proven that life in the open air and sunshine of Colorado, New Mexico and the Adirondack Mountains tends to produce a change for the better," he wrote. Given that travel was expensive and a homesick patient was unlikely to get full benefit from such treatment, "it has been found that out-door life in any climate is almost equally as beneficial" as removal to a sanatorium, and he recommended that sufferers sleep in a tent, lie well-covered in the sunshine, avoid all exercise and eat often.

It's no wonder that adults grasped at any means they could to stave off this inevitable death, if Dr. Pierce's harrowing description of death from tuberculosis is an accurate one. The disease affected children, too. According to the American Lung Association, pediatric tuberculosis behaves differently from the version found in adults. Children have less obvious symptoms, the disease spreads through the bloodstream and, consequently, puts children at greater risk for tuberculosis meningitis.

"When a child is diagnosed with active tuberculosis, it means that someone close to them, almost always an adult, must have active tuberculosis and is possibly transmitting the disease to others as well," ALA literature states. "Children living in a household with an adult who has active tuberculosis" are at greater risk from the disease. Children do not catch the disease from other children.[41]

Given that Arkansas did not mandate death certificates until 1914, decades after the Boles family deaths, it is not possible to know what killed two of Clementine's small sons. In 1882 Clementine wrote her Aunt Sallie that Teddie, at eight months old, was a "large, fine, healthy, handsome child" who was sick for a week. "I had to see him suffer and die."[42]

Charles Wills' illness allowed him enough time to tell his mother, "I must go to Heaven and see my Father. Don't cry Mama," words she had



Window behind the altar in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, given in memory of Thomas and Clementine Boles' three children

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

carved on the cemetery monument he shares with his brothers. While this sounds like the Christian belief of meeting one's heavenly father, Charles was born two months after the death of Thomas Boles, making it very likely he was anticipating meeting his human father for the first time. (For that matter, he had never met either of his brothers.)

Clementine bore her children during the period when Minnie, Thomas, Carrie, Ben and brother Frank were all dying of consumption in her home, making it likely that Teddie and Charles contracted this disease from family members.

How common was consumption during this period? It has been called the leading cause of death in the late nineteenth century, though without any statistics to back this up.[43] A possible source of information is the Mortality Schedule, which asked for the names, ages and causes of deaths of persons who had died in the 12 months prior to each census. In 1870 there were 10 deaths in Washington County attributed, or related, to consumption, a surprisingly low number for a county with a population of over 17,000 people.[44]

On the 1880 Mortality Schedule there were 30 deaths in Washington County, including three "catarrh of lungs" and "congestion of lungs" that were likely consumption. (Deaths attributed simply to hemorrhage have not been included in this count, nor those from "lung fever," which was another name for pneumonia.) Again, given that the county's total population was nearly 24,000 people by this time, this number is low.

One explanation is that these numbers are not remotely accurate. By one estimate, deaths were under-reported by as much as 40 percent on the 1850, 1860 and 1870 Mortality Schedules.[45] Neither are newspaper obituaries useful in making a count, due to gaps in the published record. Not everyone had an obituary and, of the ones who did, not all give the cause of death. When given, that cause is often vague: "in feeble health" or "after a long and painful illness." After all, Frank Watson's obituary merely states that he died, "after a lingering illness" and it is only the reference in Ben Boles' obituary ("eight deaths in five years") that makes consumption the probable cause.

MEMORIALIZING THE DEAD

After nursing the sick and attending to loved ones when they died, a woman's final task was ensuring that these deaths were memorialized. This was done by marking graves with tombstones or by creating memorials.

Though Clementine had a brother named Charles, it is believed that she named St. Charles Street, off Dickson, for son Charles William,[46] but she did more than that in her children's memory. First, she had a large monument erected within the Boles family plot, in Evergreen Cemetery, recording her children's names and dates on three sides. Charles William's final words have been mentioned above. One-year-old Watson, the first of the three to die, was given this verse: "Clothed in robes of spotless light/ Now he dwells with Thee in night."

Teddie, who lived just eight months, has these words below his dates: "God hath honored our child/By the speed of his choice." The author has not found that quotation on any other tombstones, but the stillborn son of Marcus and Susan Hill, in Yale Cemetery (Johnson County) who died in 1880 has a marker with a somewhat similar sentiment: "God blesses in an early death/And takes the infant unto Himself."

On the front of the Boles boys' marker is a verse signed "Mother" and it has not been recorded in other cemeteries, making it likely that it was written by Clementine:

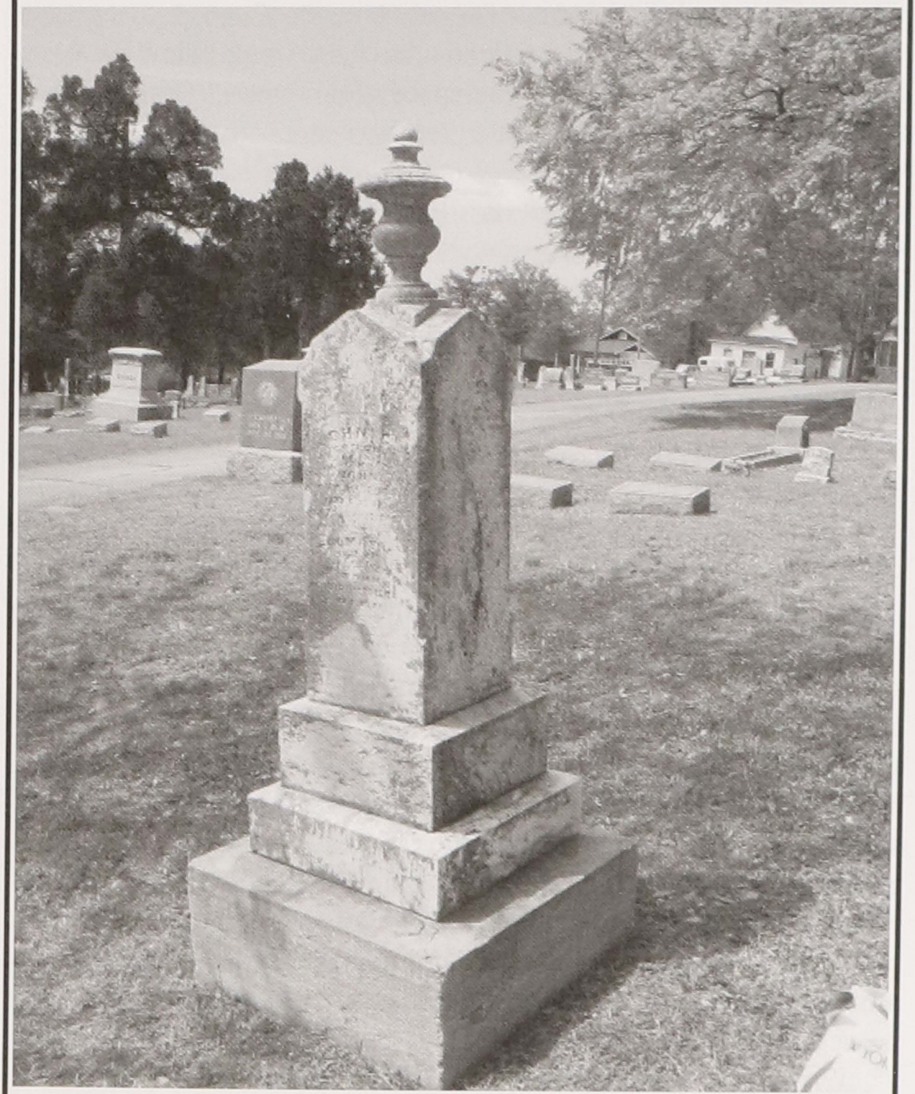
> Just as the morning
> of their lives
> were opening into day,
> The young and lovely
> spirits passed,
> From earth and
> grief away.

"Whether made through words or images, the inclusion of a comforting statement is the significant factor," states an article on children's markers in Delaware, 1840 – 1899, that is relevant to the epitaphs that Clementine chose. "We can conclude, based on the fact that messages of solace are in the great majority of all stones with sentiments, that communication on children's gravestones was intended to promote comfort for the survivors more often than to eulogize the child." And, "children's gravestones are artifacts created by adults for adult needs – the very human need to find peace during a traumatic time."[47]

Writing to her Aunt Sarah (who apparently lived in Corpus Christi, Texas), in 1889, Clementine asked for "some of those large pretty shells to put on my children's graves."[48] While it may seem surprising to find

seashells in landlocked Arkansas, conch shells are occasionally found on older burials, usually cemented to the plot's curbing. No shells have been found in the Boles plot, but the cemetery has been vandalized at numerous times over the years.

Very likely Clementine was responsible for having her family's plot marked in Van Buren. Its single white marble monument contains the



Marker in Watson family plot in Van Buren's Fairview Cemetery
(Photograph courtesy of the author)

sentiment that the stone was put there by the "loving children" of William and Christiana, but it appears to have been erected only after brother Frank's death in 1885. The lettering style is identical for all five of the deaths that it commemorates, and the monument is signed by Wheete and Standerfer, a Fayetteville tombstone company that does not appear to have been in business very long, and which sold out by early 1887.[49]

In her will Clementine directed that a tombstone be purchased to mark her sister's grave in St. Louis' Bellefontaine Cemetery. This is Clementine's only sister, a Mrs. Sarah Virginia Barclay, buried next to a Mrs. M.M. Barclay. While there is a record of this burial in Bellefontaine, Sarah's name is also inscribed on the family's monument in Van Buren with "Died in St. Louis."[50] Clementine's will also left money for upkeep to her family's Van Buren burial plot, and for the Boles plot in Evergreen.

Another bequest in her will was $500 to St. Paul's Episcopal Church, to have three memorial windows made in memory of her three sons. She left the execution of the windows to the discretion of the church's rector, with any remaining money to go to the church organ fund. (Her will also left $1,000 to the church, with interest to be used for church purposes, another $300 for the church orphans' home fund, and $200 yearly to the rector to be paid from a fund's interest.)

Rather than creating three windows, one central window was made, located behind the altar, which depicts Christ with three children gathered around him. According information provided by a former congregant, "The large memorial window over the altar arrived and was duly installed. At early morning services on sunny days the glare from the window was almost blinding. The window was removed and returned to the maker to have the darker glass installed. Note that the sky behind the figures is dark and almost stormy-looking."[51]

MEMORIALIZING EN MASSE

In the interval between nursing her mother through her final illness, and her marriage to Thomas Boles, Clementine signed on as one of the founding members of the Southern Memorial Association of Washington County. Starting in June of 1872, she and another 40 women took on the daunting challenge of establishing a cemetery for Confederate soldiers killed in area Civil War battles. A precedent for such work had been established just a few years earlier.

The first military cemetery established after the Civil War was begun in June of 1865, when Capt. James Moore made an attempt to bury the Union dead left exposed on battlefields. Initially the federal government had no intention of establishing cemeteries. However, following a call by *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, in 1866, to collect and rebury the Union dead, Congress passed a bill establishing national cemeteries. Soon numerous cemeteries were being created, the work done under the auspices of the U.S. Army's Quartermaster Corps.[52]

In all, the government would spend over $4 million in public money to establish cemeteries for the Union dead, leaving Confederate remains where they lay. Southerners – particular women – were incensed by this.

First to take action were the women of Richmond, Virginia, in 1866, who raised money to repair existing Confederate graves and transfer bodies from battlefields to new cemeteries. Soon there were memorial associations in Nashville, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Marietta and, "almost everywhere there were concentrations of Confederate bodies."[53]

In Fayetteville the ladies, spurred to action by an article in the *Fayetteville Democrat*, formed the Ladies' Southern Memorial Association. They quickly raised over $1,000 with which to purchase land opposite the Walker family cemetery, on East Mountain, and to have bodies exhumed from battlefields and reburied. One year after being founded the Association dedicated the grounds of their new cemetery, an event covered by a correspondent for the *Van Buren Press* (Crawford County).

"These brave ladies were met, on all sides, with prophesies of failure, but... they pushed the good and pious work and have purchased two acres of ground that is beautifully located near this town, overlooking it, had the lot fenced, fence painted, and have had removed to it three hundred bodies and have them buried in beautiful order."[54]

Bodies were reburied by state, with sections (radiating out from a central plaza, where the memorial statue would eventually stand) for the dead from Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana and Missouri. The money was spent, and yet there were more bodies needing removal and reburial. (Confederate remains from the battles of Pea Ridge, Prairie Grove and Fayetteville all rest in this cemetery.)

One month later the Society's President, Mrs. Lizzie Pollard, and Mrs. G.T. (Caroline) Cravens, Recording Secretary, wrote to the *Van*

Buren Press asking for financial help, reminding readers that there was no government money to be had for the project. "Help us gather the moldering bones of our soldiers from the barren hillsides... and place them beside their fallen brothers to rest where their graves may be bedewed with the tears of their kindred, and strewn by the hand of affection with brightest flowers," they asked, adding that they also wanted to raise a monument at the cemetery.[55] It would be 25 years before they could put that monument in place.

By this time Clementine had been elected one of the Association's two secretaries, and the group resolved to spend $2,500 for the war memorial. Sixteen designs were submitted for their approval, including one from Prairie Grove monument company Baggett and Dorman. They chose one by a Memphis company, which was shipped in by train.[56]

On June 10, 1897, the town turned out for the grand unveiling. Though many dignitaries were on hand Lizzie Pollard, still President of the Association, did the honors herself. Before personally unveiling the stone she gave an address detailing the history of the Southern Memorial Association (as it was later known).

Pollard memorialized all of the dead buried in the cemetery, but she focused on those who had fought and died at Prairie Grove, mentioning their endurance – and their hunger.

"When we lifted them from their battle graves, we found in their decayed and mouldering pockets acorns, and the dust of parched corn. What did that mean?" she asked. "Ah, you young people can never know! Even you, who are the bone and sinew of our land today, cannot comprehend the hunger and heroism that represents."[57]

The women – and it indeed sounds as though the Association members did this themselves – were searching the clothing on the bodies for one reason: to find identification. Soldiers in the Civil War, in an era before the invention of dog tags, sometimes had metal identification badges made (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* carried an ad for such things in September of 1864), but more commonly wrote their names on paper.

"Stories have become legendary of soldiers scribbling their names on bits of paper and pinning them to their uniforms before engagements they expected to be especially bloody. ...These soldiers' terror that their identities would be obliterated expressed itself with a grim and almost dispassionate practicality. They confronted the enormity of death with

ingenious attempts to control at least one of its particulars. If a soldier could not save his life, he hoped at least to preserve his name."[58]

To put the Southern Memorial Association's achievement into context, citizens of Springfield, Missouri, undertook the reburial of Confederate dead starting in 1870. The *Van Buren Argus* reprinted short articles following their progress, starting with a young woman's letter to the *Springfield Leader* in 1869, taking readers to task for the town's unenclosed, unmarked war graves. ("Worst of all, we can look into the graves and almost see the fleshless inhabitants.") By April of 1870, 263 bodies, from graves around the city, had been reinterred in a central Confederate cemetery. By May of 1871 the newspaper announced that a total of 501 bodies had been moved, trees planted, and all that remained was the addition of a monument.[59]

Later in her life Clementine would join the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (mentioned above), serve as a director of the Jefferson Davis Monument in Arkansas and as the state director of the Arlington Memorial Association in Washington, D.C.[60] Perhaps because three of her brothers fought for the Confederacy, Clementine devoted decades of her life to commemorating the dead from this war.

CONCLUSION

"I, Clementine Boles (childless widow)...." reads the first sentence of Clementine's will. Perhaps this is simply a legal definition, but it may have been the way she saw herself. After all, she'd described herself to her Aunt Sarah, in 1889, as "all alone in the world," despite the fact that stepchildren Clifford and Mary Boles were both living, and brother Edmund Penn Watson, wife Grace and their children lived in Bentonville.[61]

It's hard not to conclude that there was tension between Clementine and her stepson Clifford. She left him, and his three sons, $25 apiece in her will, a small amount when compared to the rest of her bequests, which included generous ones to nieces and nephews. (No bequests were made to stepdaughter Mary.) Clifford's wife, Marie Antoinette ("Nettie") Barnett Boles, had died in 1919 following a "lingering illness" of many years' duration, and Clifford's death followed five year later, in 1925. His obituary stated that, after his wife's death he, "seemed to lose interest in mundane affairs," so perhaps he had isolated himself from the world.[62]

Why was Clementine alone? As early as 1882 she had lost touch with brother Joseph. When writing to her Aunt Sarah, in Texas, she mentioned that she knew Joe had visited Sarah a year earlier, adding, "I have had no direct news from him for several years. Any thing you could say about him would interest me. I have no idea what kind of business he is engaged in." A census search has turned up only one likely candidate for this missing brother, a Joseph Watson living northwest of Houston, Texas in 1880, unmarried, working as a dry goods and grocery clerk and boarding in the home of dry goods merchant L.J. Wilson.[63]

That she completely lost contact with this brother is further evidenced by the biographical entry written during her lifetime, which merely states that Thomas died in Houston, Texas, giving no death date. According to this source brother Charles had died in Alabama in 1898, and brother William in 1902.[64]

There must have been consolation in the presence of one niece. After the Civil War brother William settled in Cane Hill, where he and wife Sarah raised a large family. One daughter, Fannie, married L. Dale Wooddy in 1890, had three children by him, and was widowed by 1900. (Bradstreet's 1893 book of credit references lists "Boles, Woody & Barnett" as partners in a general merchandise store in Fayetteville, very likely Fannie's husband.) She supported her children as a grade school teacher, and on the 1910 census lived on St. Charles Street near her aunt Clementine. The 1920 census shows them living side by side, and both women were members of the same D.A.R. chapter. Fannie died in 1949 and was buried in the Boles plot – the only person there who is not a Boles family member.

While it can be read for clues to her real estate holdings, Clementine's will gives insights into the possessions that she wanted to keep in the family. She left her jewelry, silver plate and household possessions to be divided between brothers Edmund and William's families, a miniature of her grandfather (possibly "Crews") was to go to Fannie Wooddy, "three generations of wedding shoes" to another niece, while a third received her hem-stitched napkins.

It is also interesting to read her list of monetary bequests for the many relatives who appear to have been named after Clementine. Without attempting to figure out the family relationships, these are Beulah Clem Watson, Charles Clement Watson, Clementine Sittel, Nellie Clementine

Sittel and Clement Watson Clementine's will established scholarships, in her name, at the University of Arkansas to educate the descendants of her nieces and nephews or, eventually, any other "studious, capable" scholars. (It has been impossible to determine whether these scholarships still exist.) It would be 26 years before her will was fully probated.

In 1922 the *Centennial History of Arkansas* was published, containing an entry on Clementine that would have been written during her lifetime and with her cooperation. Unlike most of the biographies in this book, which go into detail about each subject's life, Clementine's entry is almost entirely devoted to her ancestors' Virginia lineage, as well as her husband's genealogy. She must have provided the writer with this information, making it interesting for her decision to not talk about herself or her own accomplishments.

The entry does, however, provide a description of her speaking abilities while serving as a delegate to the D.A.R.'s national conventions. An unknown contemporary is quoted as saying that Clementine, "participates in their deliberations with eloquent and convincing address... and delights in encouraging the movement to preserve the history of the brave and noble deeds of southern manhood and womanhood" during the American Revolution.

Her biographer called her, "representative of the women of the south, having their culture, spirit and charm." She was also representative of the women of her day in the family members she nursed, the deaths she witnessed and the dead she commemorated. Her education and other advantages may have made her unusual for her time, but her relationship to death made her all too typical of it.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Anthony J. Wappel and Ethel C. Simpson, *Once Upon Dickson; An Illustrated History, 1868 – 2000* (Fayetteville: Phoenix International, Inc., with the University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections Department, Fayetteville, 2008), p. 106.

[2] Barbara P. Easley, editor, *Obituaries of Benton County 1930 – 1931*, Vol. 10 (Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc. 1997), pp. 213-4.

[3] Unsigned, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, Vol. 2 (Chicago, Little Rock: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), p. 897. [Note: Christiana Watson's name is spelled variously on the Census, in her obituary and on her tombstone; this spelling has been chosen as it was used in the account that was written during her daughter's lifetime.]

[4] Unsigned, "Fayetteville Advertisements of a Century Ago," *Flashback* 3 (Jan., 1957), p. 2.

[5] Pat Donat, "First College Had Long-Term Impact," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 2, 1977 [source of information not given].

[6] Nancy A. Williams, editor, *Arkansas Biography, A Collection of Notable Lives*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), p. 256.

[7] Mary L. East, "'Mr. Graham's School,' State's First College," *Arkansas Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1945, p. 9B.

[8] Unsigned, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, p. 897.

[9] Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, City of Fayetteville, Washington County, Arkansas.

[10] Slave Schedule of 1850, City of Van Buren: Christianna Watson, owner of ten-year-old black male; Slave Schedule of 1860, City of Fayetteville: William Watson, owner of eighteen-year-old black male, presumably the same man.

[11] Unsigned, "1911 Membership Register, Mildred Lee chapter U.D.C.," *Flashback*, 3 (Feb., 1953) p. 9.

[12] Russell L. Mahan, *Fayetteville, Arkansas in the Civil War, 1860 – 1865*, (Utah: Historical Byways, 2003), p. 38.

[13] Edward G. Gerdes Civil War Home Page, 2001. www.couchgenweb.com/civilwar/

[14] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, April 2, 1870.

[15] Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, City of Fayetteville, and Cane Hill Township, Washington County, Arkansas.

[16] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, April 2, 1885.

[17] Information on the marriage found on St. Paul's Episcopal Church's web page: www.stpaulsfay.org/history_exhibit.pdf which credits the University of Arkansas Library.

[18] Unsigned, *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, Oct. 14, 1921.

[19] Wappel & Simpson, *Once Upon Dickson*, p. 106.

[20] King et. al. v. Boles, No. 382, Supreme Court of Arkansas May 8, 1916.

[21] Grace Dinsmore Watson, April 13, 1856 – June 4, 1926; buried in Bentonville's (Benton County) city cemetery.

[22] Unsigned, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, p. 897.

[23] Barbara P. Easley, editor, *Obituaries of Washington County, Arkansas, Vol. 1, 1841 – 1892*, (Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1996) p. 60.

[24] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, April 2, 1885.

[25] Unsigned, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, p. 897.

[26] 1880 Mortality Schedule of Arkansas, Washington County.

[27] Letter from Clementine Boles to "Aunt Sallie," dated Fayetteville, Jan. 1, 1882; in the collection of Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR. Note: Sallie's last name not known; from references in the letter it appears that she lived in or near Corpus Christi, Texas.

[28] *Fayetteville [Weekl]y Democrat*, Jan. 11, 1883.

[29] Website of Evergreen Cemetery, http://www.projectpast.org/gvogel/Evergreen/evabout.htm quoting from University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections, Manuscript Collection 926

[30] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, Jan. 18, 1883.

[31] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, Aug. 2, 1883.

[32] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, May 20, 1887.

[33] Letter from Clementine Boles to "Aunt Sarah" dated Fayetteville, Sept. 19, 1889; letter in the collection of Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR. Note: Sarah's last name not known. She, too, appears to be living in or near Corpus Christi, Texas, too.

[34] Information gathered by students taking Mary Celestia Parler's folklore class, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

[35] Barry E. Zimmerman and David J. Zimmerman, *Killer Germs: Microbes and Diseases That Threaten Humanity* (New York: McGraw-Hill Professional, 2003) pp. 67 – 89.

[36] William Tyrell Leeper, "*Arkansas State Tuberculosis Sanatorium*," The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture (online); 2008, www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net

[37] Barbara P. Easley, Editor, *Obituaries of Washington County, Arkansas, Vol. 2, 1893 – 1902*, (Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1996) p. 416; obituary of Mrs. Albert Heflin, death date May 30, 1902.

[38] *Clarksville Democrat*, May 11, 1916.

[39] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, Aug. 17, 1878; ironically, this ad runs near a more prominent one for J. Mathews & Co., a tombstone manufacturer, containing a line drawing of monuments.

[40] R.V. Pierce, M.D., *The People's Common Sense Medical Adviser* (New York: World's Dispensary Medical Association, 1918), p. 505.

[41] Pediatric Tuberculosis Fact Sheet, American Lung Association site, 2009; www.lungusa.org

[42] Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, IL, exhibit of Edward Baker Lincoln's tombstone includes an excerpt of a letter from Abraham Lincoln to stepbrother John D. Johnson, stating that his son, aged three years and 10 months, died from consumption after a sickness of 52 days. The child died Feb. 1, 1850.

[43] Zimmerman & Zimmerman, *Killer Germs: Microbes and Diseases That Threaten Humanity*, p. 59.

[44] Matthew Bryan Kirkpatrick, *Washington County*, www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net

[45] James Byars Carter, "Disease and Death in the Nineteenth Century: A Genealogical Perspective," (National Geographic Society Quarterly,

1988) which cites *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983) pp. 139-201.

[46.] Stephen Lewis Drake, "The Naming of Fayetteville's Streets, Part One," *Flashback*, 30, (Aug., 1980), p. 5.

[47.] Deborah A. Smith, *"'Safe in the Arms of Jesus': Consolation on Delaware Children's Gravestones, 1840-99,"* Markers IV, (Boston, Mass.: Journal of The Association for Gravestone Studies, 1987), p. 102.

[48.] Letter to Aunt Sarah; *Ibid.*

[49.] *The Fayetteville Republican*, May 27, 1887, advertisement announcing that the firm of Morley and Oliver was the successor to Wheete and Standerfer. Very few tombstones have been found by the author containing this signature.

[50.] Email correspondence with Sheri Kohler, historian for Bellefontaine Cemetery on 2/25/09 and 4/13/09 stating that there is a record of a "Sallie V. Barclay" whose death date matches the one on Sarah's Van Buren marker.

[51.] Email correspondence with Suzi Freeman, at St. Paul's Episcopal Church on 9/21/05, quoting "Memories of St. Paul's" by Carolyn Rainey Harris (deceased) who, in turn, is quoting a Miss Sue Walker who told this story.

[52.] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering; Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), pp. 228, 233.

[53.] *Ibid*, pp. 237 – 239, 243.

[54.] Evelyn Sue Jones Williams, editor, *Abstracts From Crawford County, Ark. Newspapers, 'Van Buren Press' Jan. 8, 1872 – Dec. 23, 1874*,Vol. 3, (np, 1997), pp. 198 – 199, reprinting article found in the *Van Buren Press*, June 17, 1873.

[55.] *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

[56.] Rowena Gallaway, *"They Builded A Monument," Flashback*, 2, (May, 1952), p. 4.

[57.] *Fayetteville [Weekly] Democrat*, June 17, 1897.

[58.] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, pp. 120-121.

[59.] Evelyn Sue Williams, compiler, *Abstracts From Crawford County, Ark. Newspapers: "Van Buren Press" April 20, 1869 – Dec. 26, 1871,* Roll #2 (np., 1995), pp. 75, 141, 274-5.

[60.] Wappel & Simpson, *Once Upon Dickson*, p. 106.

[61.] It should be noted that there are three men named Edmund Penn Watson, and they are not direct descendants. It was not Clementine's brother Edmund Penn but, rather, brother William who had a son named Edmund Penn. He, in turn, had a son by this name. It is the father and son Edmund Penn Watsons who had Watson Mortuary and Watson Burial Association on Dickson Street in the 1940s. Both of these men are buried in Evergreen Cemetery, near the Boles plot. (Clementine's brother, Edmund Penn, is buried beside his wife in Bentonville's city cemetery.)

[62.] *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 29, 1924.

[63.] Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Navasota Township, Grimes County, Texas.

[64.] Unsigned, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, p. 897.

Gladden, Woolsey, Woolum, Woosley, and Zion: Facts and Folklore of the 19th Century Stagecoach Routes in Washington County

Kirby Sanders*

Washington County, Arkansas has long been an important transit corridor in the history of the United States. In the early Nineteenth Century settlers from the northeast followed the first Post Road into Arkansas from St. Louis, Gateway to the West. By the mid-1800s, the establishment of the Butterfield Overland Mail postal and passenger stagecoach route further heightened the importance of the area as the main national route to Texas, the gold fields of the West and California. From the mid-1800s through the building of the railroads in the 1870s, the 1880s and the turn of the 20th Century, stagecoaches played an important role in the transportation of people, mail and goods through the state.

Three major anomalies arise for the serious student of the stagecoach routes of the 1800s as they passed through Washington County, Arkansas. All available documentation agree that the most significant route was that of the Butterfield Overland Mail through the area from 1858-1861. Folklore and anecdotal evidence have, however, placed erroneous Butterfield stops at the Gladden Hotel in Springdale, the community of Zion east of Fayetteville and at Signal Hill near Winslow. In this article we will consider the documented evidence (or lack thereof) of these Butterfield locations.

It must be said at the outset that there is no doubt stagecoaches did serve these locations. The question has been: Were these stations Butterfield Stations? The documentable answer in each case appears to be "no" — they were not Butterfield Stations.

Beginning at the north, our first point of reference is Fitzgerald's Station at Old Wire Road / Old Missouri Road / Arkansas 265 and Dodd Avenue in

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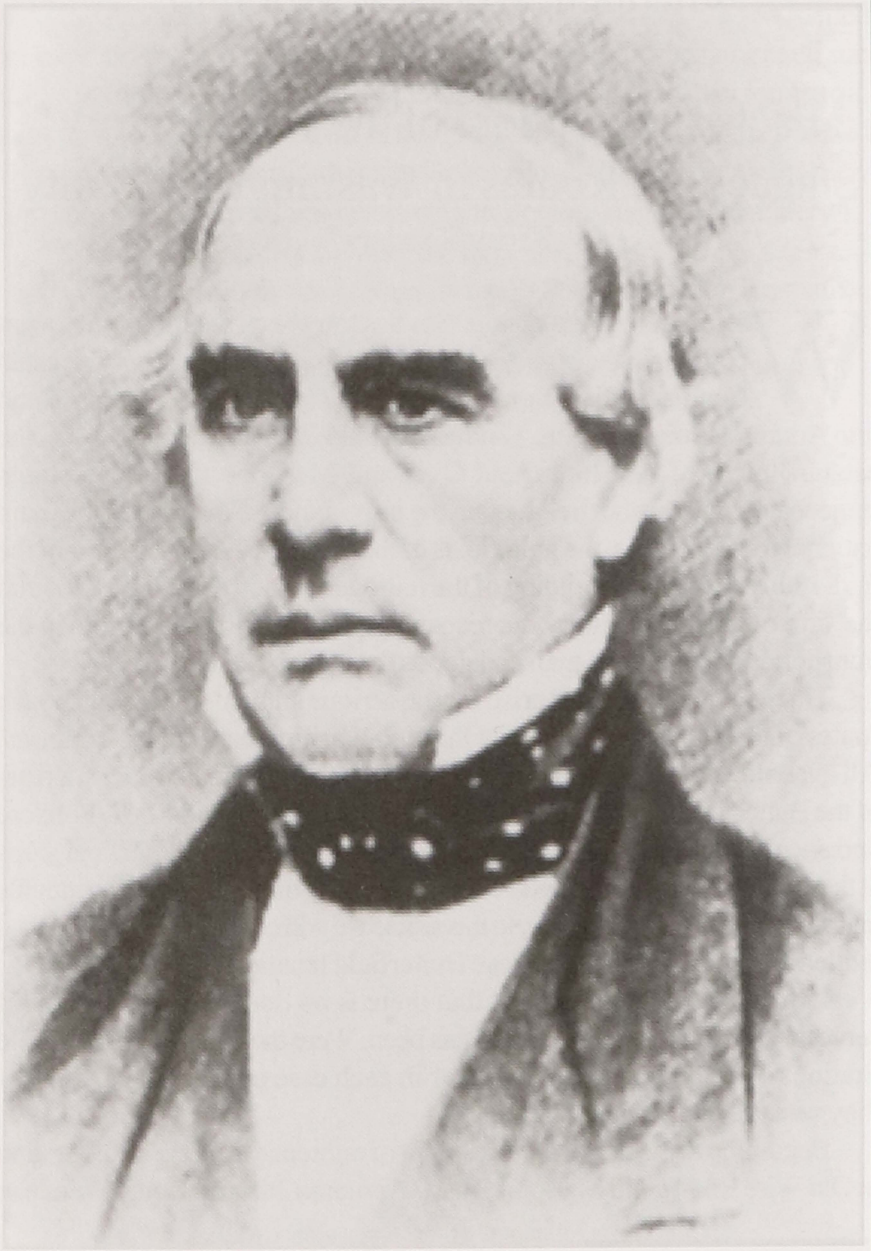
*The author is a former journalist with the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. This article grew out of Sanders' *Driver's Guide to The Butterfield Overland Mail Route* (Springdale, AR: Heritage Trail Partners, 2008)



John Butterfield, ca. 1850
(Photograph courtesy of National Postal Museum)

Springdale. Fitzgerald Station is a documentable Butterfield Station and is listed as such on the National Register of Historic Places (Fitzgerald Station and Farmstead - added 2003 - #03000465). From there we will consider the status of the nearby Gladden Hotel as a Butterfield Station.

There is documentable evidence from research done by Bobbie Byars Lynch and others that the first main road through Northwest Arkansas passed through the community of Shiloh (later Springdale) in the early 1800s. That route wound its way from Fitzgerald's Station past the present-day Fitzgerald Cemetery at what is now Randall Wobbe Lane and Old Missouri Road. It continued into the Shiloh community along Mill Street. This route would have taken the original road within a block of where the Gladden Hotel eventually stood (West Main at Center Street).

Here, the anecdotal claim kicks in. It has long been maintained in the community that the Gladden Hotel was a Butterfield stop — perhaps an occasional stop for meals and to discharge passengers. In an interview in 2001, Lynch disputed that contention. She maintained two points in that regard. First, there was no evidence of the Gladden family in the area of Shiloh 1858-1861 let alone their operating the hotel. Second, she contended that John Butterfield's surveyors snipped about one and one-half miles off of their route in 1857 - 1858 by improving a road through swampy ground to the east of Shiloh, creating what she termed the "Butterfield Bypass" past the community. In modern terms, the Butterfield Bypass began at what is now Randall Wobbe Lane and Arkansas 265 / Old Missouri Road. It continued along Arkansas 265 / Old Missouri Road to a point just south of Spring Creek and north of Ford Avenue.

Lynch's first contention appears to have proved true on at least two fronts. According to the 1889 *Goodspeed's History of Benton, Washington, Carroll, Madison, Crawford, Franklin, and Sebastian Counties, Arkansas*, Thomas Gladden (referred to as "the accommodating proprietor of the Gladden Hotel"), came first to Benton County and later to Springdale and Washington County. The Goodspeed article reports that Gladden "... became a resident of Benton County Ark., in 1867 and from there went to Boonsborough, where he lived five years. He has now been residing in Springdale for thirteen years and during that time has been engaged in keeping hotel, purchasing his present large house in 1887, which is largely patronized by the traveling public."

Quick math, subtracting 13 years from the 1889 publication date of the Goodspeed entry would indicate that Thomas Gladden was not a resident or hotelier in Springdale / Shiloh prior to 1876.

Gravesite of John Fitzgerald, stationmaster of Fitzgerald Station. The Fitzgerald family cemetery is located on Old Wire Road, near Randall Wobbe Lane, southwest of the Fitzgerald Station site.

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

Additionally, the Gladden name does not appear in federal census data for Washington County until the census of 1880. That census lists the household as Thomas Gladden (age 66), wife Sarah, (age 53) along with Burnis (age 25), Mary W. (age 23) and Isam I. (age 19).

Secondarily, Lynch noted that a post office named Lynch's Prairie was established on the outskirts of Shiloh at the south foot of the Butterfield Bypass in order to assure mail service to the nearby community. This location was also at a point where the old road rejoined the "Butterfield Bypass". That site in modern terms is across from the present Northwest Technical

Institute (109 S. Old Missouri Road) and adjacent to the Springdale Municipal Airport. Lynch's Prairie, she said, was a "flag stop" for the Butterfield — meaning that coaches would stop if there was mail to be delivered and the Postmaster would "flag down" the coach if outgoing mail was to be picked up.

While none of the contemporaneous reports from the Butterfield Route document a stop at Lynch's Prairie, Goodspeed confirms the existence of the Lynch's Prairie Post Office (1859-1866) and lists Albert G. Gregg as having been Postmaster. Being on the outskirts of town at the time and less than a mile from the heart of Shiloh with no other nearby community to serve, there is no other reason for the United States government to have approved the establishment of a Post Office at this location.

Lynch maintained during the 2001 interview that another inn or tavern may have predated the Gladden Hotel at the Main and Center Street location. She stated it was possible that Butterfield coaches running ahead of scheduled may have stopped there on occasion for a quick meal or to discharge

The Zion Methodist Church would become the focal point of the community of Zion, located east of Fayetteville

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

passengers, but urged that the location would have been off the main Butterfield route and was not a scheduled stop.

Velda Brotherton, in *Springdale: The Courage of Shiloh*, specifically notes an inn predating the Gladden Hotel and identifies it as the Lovelady Inn. She places the Lovelady Inn about a block east of the Gladden Hotel location at Main and Center Streets, noting that Gladden relocated the hotel after purchasing the Lovelady. She reports the Lovelady was "originally built by Bennett Putman" and was operated by Putman during the Butterfield period, 1858-1861 and that the Lovelady Inn was an occasional / optional stop for the Butterfield as was indicated by Lynch.

Brotherton also identifies Lynch's Prairie as the first Post Office for the Shiloh Community but states that it was "several miles away" from the settlement. She does state that "The post office was established with the arrival of the Butterfield Overland Mail route and closed soon after the Civil War." Additionally, Brotherton reiterates that the Butterfield bypassed the community of Shiloh. She also indicates that Thomas Gladden owned property as of the preparation of a plat by John Holcombe in 1868

The second quirk in Washington County stageline research involves the community of Zion to the east of Fayetteville. Researchers in the 1950s concluded that the Butterfield Route between Springdale and Fayetteville passed through Zion — with the result that the modern road between Springdale and this small community was eventually named Butterfield Coach Road. Additionally, an historical marker to that effect was erected at Robinson Road and Butterfield Coach Road in south Springdale. Later research, however, indicates this was a later coach route.

A newspaper article originally published in the *St. Louis (MO) Democrat* and cited in the *New York (NY) Times* of October 14, 1858 contains a particularly inclusive itinerary of the 1858 Butterfield Route compiled by a passenger named Bailey. It contains no mention of the Zion community. Additionally, maps of the area from the time period do not show a main road other than the one tracking what is now Arkansas 265 between Springdale and Fayetteville.

Research has also confirmed the Butterfield Route as having tracked what is now Arkansas 265, passing through what is now Lake Fayetteville Park in Fayetteville. The 1958 publication by the Arkansas Committee of the Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial (W. J. Lemke, chairman) notes specifically that "Part of this stretch of the old road is now covered by Lake Fayetteville. From the lake south, the old road is still in use."

Marker placed at the site of the Old Washington County Courthouse at Center Street and College Avenue. This marker recognizes the earlier site of the Butterfield Station and Hotel, 1858-1871. This facility was owned and operated by members of the John Butterfield family.

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

The areas specifically noted by Lemke would have been bypassed had the route from Springdale to Fayetteville followed a course via the Zion community. Further, in 1858, the site of the Zion community was a religious camp hosting an itinerant population from time to time but not a substantial permanent population. It is unlikely that the Butterfield Overland Mail would have diverged from the main road to serve a location without a permanent population. While there is credible information that a stagecoach did serve the Zion community after it had stabilized, it appears this route was most

likely a part of the 1876 Woolum-Brown Stageline rather than the 1858 Butterfield. As a result of research 2000 to present, the errant Butterfield Coach Road historical marker previously mentioned was moved to a point on Arkansas 265 near Lowell (then "Mudtown") that is a confirmed location on the Butterfield Route.

All available research agrees that the Overland Mail served the Butterfield Hotel and Station in Fayetteville, now the location of the Old Washington County Courthouse at Center Street and College Avenue. The next undisputed stop was Parks Station just south of Hogeye on Arkansas 265. After Parks Station is the Strickler Station located on Bug Scuffle Road at Arkansas 265.

Thereafter, folklore and anecdote have maintained that the Butterfield coaches stopped in the vicinity of Signal Hill west of Winslow. This station at Winslow is frequently referred to as the "Woolsey" or "Woolum" Station and is often claimed as what contemporaneous reports call the "Woosley Station." This Winslow-area station is most assuredly a later coach stop unrelated to the Butterfield. For starters, a sidetrack from Strickler to Winslow would have required a due-east side track of almost seven straight-line

Restored Butterfield Overland Stagecoach Carriage
(Photograph courtesy of http://www.desertusa.com)

This structure stands immediately west of the Woosley Station site at AR Highway 59 and Uniontown Highway (220), south of Cedarville in Crawford County. The actual Woosley Station site was located east of this structure near Arkansas Highway 59 and Sarah Grove Lane.

(Photograph courtesy of the author)

miles — and given the terrain of the area, there is no such thing as "straight-line miles". This region is among the most rugged of the Boston Mountain area and would have required a an arduous (if not impossible) passage for horse-drawn coaches. On existing roads this sidetrack is a 22 mile trip. The most-direct route through the same terrain would have required at least seven hours for the Butterfield coaches. To reach the next confirmed stop at Brodie's Station near Lee Creek would be another 26 treacherous miles requiring another eight or nine hours to complete.

Bailey states specifically that the distance from Parks Station (Hogeye) to Brodie's (Lee Creek) was 20 miles — which route goes directly through Strickler. It appears obvious that having built a new stretch of road to snip about a mile off of the route at Shiloh, Butterfield's surveyors would not have designed a treacherous 48 mile sidetrack off the main road to get to Winslow.

Additionally, local historian Jo Ann Kyle, in the *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture,* states plainly that the Signal Hill location belongs to a later coach company that was not established until after the Butterfield had ceased operation in Northwest Arkansas. Says Kyle, "The stage lines became an important means of transit for people and mail. Elijah J. Woolum established the Woolum-Brown Stage Line operating between Fayetteville (Washington County) and Alma (Crawford County) sometime after the Civil War (the exact date is unknown). The stage stop became known as Summit Home. On December 11, 1876, an application was granted for a post office at Summit Home. William John Reed was the first postmaster. It is speculated that this stage line was part of the Butterfield Overland Route, but it has never been proven. "

Goodspeed confirms that as of 1876 William J. Reed served as Postmaster at Summit Home.

Elijah J. Woolum is not listed in the 1850, 1860 or 1870 census of the area. The first likely census entry is in 1880 — listed as "E.J. Wollum" (age 56 of Illinois) with wife Elizabeth (age 57 of Tennessee) and son Frank F. (age 11 of Alabama). Goodspeed lists "Elijah J. Woodburn" as Postmaster of Summit Home in 1879. That record indicates the change of name to Winslow as of 1881 with Elijah J. Woolum serving as Postmaster until 1883.

As to the possibility of a "Woolsey" rather than "Woolum" station, William T. Woolsey and a substantial family are listed in the area as of the 1850 census. Their farmstead, however, was about 10 miles north of Signal Hill / Winslow in the area of West Fork, Arkansas. It is also noted in Goodspeed

that William T. Woolsey was" involved in freighting" , but relocated to Missouri during the Civil War. Upon his return after the war, Woolsey involved himself in "mercantile business, soon building up a good trade." It should also be noted that W.T. Woolsey served as Postmaster for West Fork 1871-1878 (again according to Goodspeed). These facts make it apparent the Signal Hill station near Winslow was operated by Elijah J. Woolum rather than William T. Woolsey — and most likely established after the United States Census of 1870.

While Kyle notes the Woolum line as having served Fayetteville to Alma as of 1876, it is very likely that this is the same line that served Zion and Springdale further north. Given the populations of those two communities at the time, it is unlikely that an independent stageline serving Springdale / Zion / Fayetteville would have been economically viable and perfectly likely that such a branch would improve the profitability of Woolum's Fayetteville / Alma line with little additional time or effort involved.

Additionally, Brotherton reports that as late as 1881 stagegecoaches of the U.E. & E.L. Fisher Stageline "made a circle from Fayetteville north to Springdale, then by circuitous route to Pierce City, Missouri, and another route south via Neosho, through Bentonville and on to Fayetteville." It is also possible to likely that the regional Fisher Stage Line may have served the Zion Community

Of last note regarding Winslow / Signal Hill as Butterfield's "Woosley" Station is geographical impossibility. By contemporaneous reports from both Waterman Ormsby and Bailey, Woosley's Station was located between the stations at Lee Creek and Fort Smith — both of which are well south of Signal Hill / Winslow. Ormsby's and Bailey's 1858 reports have also been confirmed by Lemke (1958 but incorrectly noted as "Oosley's Station"), Conklings (1947), Mincke (2005) and the Matt brothers (2006). The identified site of this station is in Crawford County in the vicinity of the intersection at Arkansas 220 / Uniontown Highway and Arkansas 59 south of Cedarville.

The presence of the Woosley family is indisputable in the area just south of Cedarville. The Woosley Station was established by James Woosley and his son George near the family homestead. The 1860 census for Crawford County lists two households (misspelled "Woosly") at the Woosley homestead. The first household is that of James Woosley (age 49) with wife Patience Woosly (age 49) and six children . The other household is that of George Woosly, age 25, Sarah E. Woosly, age 28 and (significantly) Sarah M. Woosly, age 7. Also resident in the second household are Michael

OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY.

THROUGH TIME SCHEDULE BETWEEN

ST. LOUIS, MO., MEMPHIS, TENN. & SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

GOING WEST.

LEAVE.	DAYS.	Hour.	Distance. Place to Place.	Time allowed.	Av'ge Miles per Hour.
St. Louis, Mo., & Memphis, Tenn.	Every Monday & Thursday,	8.00 A.M	Miles.	No. Hours	
P. R. R. Terminus, "	" Monday & Thursday,	6.00 P.M	160	10	16
Springfield, "	" Wednesday & Saturday	7.45 A.M	143	37¾	3¾
Fayetteville, "	" Thursday & Sunday,	10.15 A.M	100	26½	3¾
Fort Smith, Ark.	" Friday & Monday,	3.30 A.M	65	17¼	3¾
Sherman, Texas	" Sunday & Wednesday,	12.30 A.M	205	45	4½
Fort Belknap, "	" Monday & Thursday,	9.00 A.M	146½	32½	4½
Fort Chadbourn, "	" Tuesday & Friday,	3.15 P.M	136	30¼	4½
Pecos River, (Em. Crossing.)	" Thursday & Sunday,	3.45 A.M	165	36½	4½
El Paso,	" Saturday & Tuesday,	11.00 A.M	248½	55¼	4½
Soldier's Farewell	" Sunday & Wednesday,	8.30 P.M	150	33½	4½
Tucson, Arizona	" Tuesday & Friday,	1.30 P.M	184½	41	4½
Gila River,* "	" Wednesday & Saturday	9.00 P.M	141	31½	4½
Fort Yuma, Cal.	" Friday & Monday,	3.00 A.M	135	30	4½
San Bernardino "	" Saturday & Tuesday,	11.00 P.M	200	44	4½
Ft. Tejon, (Via Los Angeles.)	" Monday & Thursday,	7.30 A.M	150	32½	4½
Visalia, "	" Tuesday & Friday,	11.30 A.M	127	28	4½
Firebaugh's Ferry, "	" Wednesday & Saturday	5.30 A.M	82	18	4½
(Arrive) San Francisco,	" Thursday & Sunday,	8.30 A.M	163	27	6

GOING EAST.

LEAVE.	DAYS.	Hour.	Distance. Place to Place.	Time allowed.	Av'ge Miles per Hour.
San Francisco, Cal.	Every Monday & Thursday,	8.00 A.M	Miles.	No. Hours	
Firebaugh's Ferry, "	" Tuesday & Friday,	11.00 A.M	163	27	6
Visalia, "	" Wednesday & Saturday,	5.00 A.M	82	18	4½
Ft. Tejon, (Via Los Angeles.)	" Thursday & Sunday,	9.00 A.M	127	28	4½
San Bernardino, "	" Friday & Monday,	5.30 P.M	150	32½	4½
Fort Yuma, "	" Sunday & Wednesday,	1.30 P.M	200	44	4½
Gila River,* Arizona	" Monday & Thursday,	7.30 P.M	135	30	4½
Tucson, "	" Wednesday & Saturday	3.00 A.M	141	31½	4½
Soldier's Farewell,	" Thursday & Sunday,	8.00 P.M	184½	41	4½
El Paso, Tex.	" Saturday & Tuesday,	5.30 A.M	150	33½	4½
Pecos River, (Em. Crossing.)	" Monday & Thursday	12.45 P.M	248½	55¼	4½
Fort Chadbourn, "	" Wednesday & Saturday	1.15 A.M	165	36½	4½
Fort Belknap, "	" Thursday & Sunday,	7.30 A.M	136	30¼	4½
Sherman, "	" Friday & Monday,	4.00 P.M	146½	32½	4½
Fort Smith, Ark.	" Sunday & Wednesday,	1.00 P.M	205	45	4½
Fayetteville, Mo.	" Monday, & Thursday,	6.15 A.M	65	17¼	3¾
Springfield, "	" Tuesday & Friday,	8.45 A.M	100	26½	3¾
P. R. R. Terminus, "	" Wednesday & Saturday	10.30 P.M	143	37¾	3¾
(Arrive) St. Louis, Mo., & Memphis, Tenn.	" Thursday & Sunday,		160	10	16

This Schedule may not be exact—Superintendents, Agents, Station-men, Conductors, Drivers and all employees are particularly directed to use every possible exertion to get the Stages through in quick time, even though they may be ahead of this time.

If they are behind this time, it will be necessary to urge the animals on to the highest speed that they can be driven without injury.

Remember that no allowance is made in the time for ferries, changing teams, &c. It is therefore necessary that each driver increase his speed over the average per hour enough to gain the necessary time for meals, changing teams, crossing ferries, &c.

Every person in the Company's employ will always bear in mind that each minute of time is of importance. If each driver on the route loses fifteen (15) minutes, it would make a total loss of time, on the entire route, of twenty-five (25) hours, or, more than one day. If each one loses ten (10) minutes it would make a total loss of sixteen and one half (16½) hours, or, the best part of a day.

On the contrary, if each driver gains that amount of time, it leaves a margin of time against accidents and extra delays.

All hands will see the great necessity of promptness and dispatch: every minute of time is valuable as the Company are under heavy forfeit if the mail is behind time.

Conductors must note the hour and date of departure from Stations, the causes of delay, if any, and all particulars. They must also report the same fully to their respective Superintendents.

* The Station referred to on Gila River, is 40 miles west of Maricopa Wells.

JOHN BUTTERFIELD.
Pres't.

Morricy, age 25, and M. Dudley, age 25, both of whose occupations are listed as "stagecoach driver".

The significance of Sarah M. Woosley's census entry is that Sarah M. Woosley (daughter of George W. and Sarah E. Woosley) died of disease at age seven. She was buried near the family homestead and was the first person to be buried in the Woosley family cemetery. The Woosley family cemetery later served the nearby community and was named the Sarah's Grove Cemetery. That cemetery is located on Sarah Grove Road just east of the intersection of Arkansas 220 / Uniontown Highway and Arkansas 59. Additionally, James Woosley's eldest son, Capt. W.W. Woosley, was killed at the Battle of Prairie Grove on December 7, 1862 and interred near his sister, Sarah, in the Woosley family Cemetery. Captain W.W. Woosley's gravestone still stands in the Sarah Grove Cemetery showing the proper spelling as "Woosley."

Swinburn and West report that "All [the Woosley] buildings were destroyed by the Federals during the Civil War when they marched through Dripping Springs to Van Buren."

A historical marker located at the corner of Sarah Grove Road and Arkansas 59 (dedicated to the Battle of Dripping Springs) commemorates a confrontation between Union forces under General James G. Blunt and Gen. Francis Jay Herron with the Confederate 1st Texas Rangers commanded by Lt. Colonel R. Phillip Crump on December 28, 1862.

James Woosley and family reportedly abandoned the homestead during this period. Some research maintains James Woosley moved to "the area near Greenland Arkansas" while others claim he moved to Texas. Recent research indicates The Woosley family homesteads and station were burned by Union troops on December 28, 1862 at the onset of the Battle of Dripping Springs and that the family did indeed move to Texas. Through the post-Civil-War years they became a successful merchant and banking clan in the area southeast of Sherman, Texas.

As a final note, this article is not intended to disparage any of the communities or the researchers who have studied them. Rather, the intent is to give credit where credit is due at the time it was due and to clarify the admitted tangle of stagecoach routes through Washington County in the mid- to late- 19th Century.

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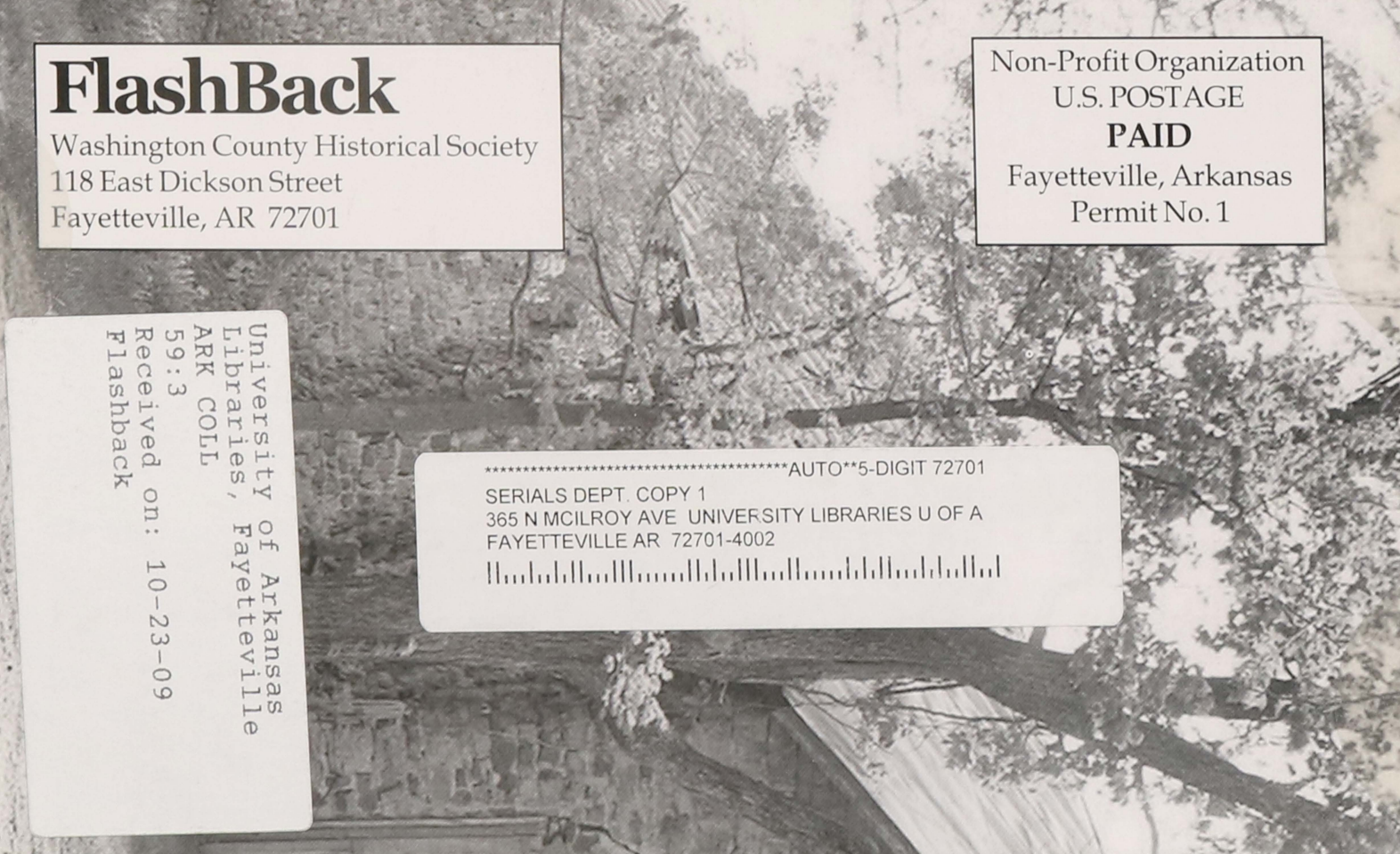

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